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AUTHOR Lekovic, Zdravko; Djelica, Mihalo
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ABSTRACT

This report on communication policies in Yugoslavia is part of a larger project, sponsored by UNESCO and intended to analyze communication policies as they exist at public, institutional, and professional levels in selected countries. Included in this report are: (1) the premise of Yugoslavian communication policy; (2) historical development of mass communication in Yugoslavia; (3) public policy in communications; (4) social participation in the progress of the mass media; (5) the position of mass media; and (6) journalistic organizations and research work. Statistical data on population and mass communications media are appended. (Author/STS)

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ED146896

Communication policies in **Yugoslavia**

A study carried out by the
Yugoslav Institute of Journalism
and written by Dr Zdravko Leković and Dr Mihalo Bjelica

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Preface

Communication policies are sets of principles and norms established to guide the behaviour of communication systems. They are shaped over time in the context of society's general approach to communication and to the media. Emanating from political ideologies, the social and economic conditions of the country and the values on which they are based, they strive to relate these to the real needs for and the prospective opportunities of communication.

Communication policies exist in every society, though they may sometimes be latent and disjointed, rather than clearly articulated and harmonized. They may be very general, in the nature of desirable goals and principles, or they may be more specific and practically binding. They may exist or be formulated at many levels. They may be incorporated in the constitution or legislation of a country; in over-all national policies, in the guidelines for individual administrations, in professional codes of ethics as well as in the constitutions and operational rules of particular communication institutions.

The publication of this series of studies has been undertaken as part of the programme adopted by the General Conference of Unesco at its sixteenth session, related to the analysis of communication policies as they exist at the different levels—public, institutional, professional—in selected countries. The aim of the series is to present this information in a manner which can be comparable. Thus an attempt has been made to follow, as far as possible, a fairly similar structural pattern and method of approach which was agreed between the national institutions undertaking the work.

Within these series of monographs the first five studies are devoted to European communication policies. Similar studies for Latin America are in progress. These will be followed by policies studies carried out in Asian countries.

This study was carried out by the Yugoslav Institute of Journalism in Belgrade and written by Zdravko Leković and Mihalo Bjelica.

This study is not an official document of the country it refers to. The views stated therein are the authors' and do not necessarily represent the official Yugoslav views or those of Unesco.

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1 The premise of the communication policy

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a federal republic of free and equal nations and nationalities (national minorities),[1] comprising the socialist republics of: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia (within Serbia there exist two socialist autonomous provinces—Kosovo and Vojvodina.

The social system of socialist Yugoslavia is based upon self-management —that is, upon the authority of the working class and all working people and upon mutual relations of people who, as producers and creators having freedom and equal rights, work to meet their personal and common needs. The fundamentals of the status of each and every individual are the following: social ownership of the means of production which excludes the return to any form of exploitation of man whatsoever; self-management in the production and distribution of labour output; the right of the working man to enjoy the benefits of his work and the material progress of the social community; the freedom, equality and unity of nations and nationalities in the Yugoslav federal community; economic, social and personal security, solidarity and togetherness; democratic political relations; equality before the law; duties and responsibilities stipulated by the Constitution and laws. It is from this concept of social development the status and role of nations and nationalities and of individuals that also derives the basic premise of the system of public communication in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia, in terms of the size of the population, ranks first on the Balkan peninsula and eighth in Europe. According to the population census taken in 1971, Yugoslavia has 20,505,000 inhabitants. The following is the national composition of the population: Serbs, 8,143,246; Croats, 4,526,782; Moslems, 1,729,832; Slovenes, 1,678,032; Albanians, 1,309,523; Macedonians, 1,194,784; Montenegrins, 508,843; Hungarians, 477,374; Turks, 127,920; Slovaks, 83,656; Bulgarians, 58,627; Romanians, 58,570; Czechs, 24,620; Ruthenians, 24,640; Italians, 21,791; and others, 166,641. Yugoslavia ranks among the medium-inhabited countries in Europe. The area of Yugoslavia is 255,804 square kilometres.

1. In Yugoslavia the expression 'nationalities' is used for national minorities. This term confirms the fact that all peoples and national minorities in Yugoslavia are equal in all their rights.

Nowhere in Europe do so many nations and national minorities (ethnic groups) inhabit such a small area as in Yugoslavia. Ethnically the most complex region is the socialist autonomous province Vojvodina where, for instance, members of more than thirty ethnic groups live in the town of Vrbas. Religious differences between the Yugoslav peoples were exploited by many invaders in order to create division and fan hatred among them. In socialist Yugoslavia, for the first time, all nations and national minorities enjoy equal rights and duties and have become free in the true sense of the word. The foundations of that freedom and equality were laid down during the liberation war against fascim and the socialist revolution in 1941–45.

The policy of public communication in every society, and in the socialist society which is being developed in Yugoslavia, is determined by many factors. One essential factor is man's need to receive information and ever-greater possibilities of satisfying this need. It goes without saying that the encouragement of the freedom of thought and speech and the right to information depends upon the nature of production relationships in society. In addition to anthropological and socio-political factors, other factors in society influence the policy of public communication. It il essential to take into consideration at least the following: the material basis of development and functioning of the system of public communication; the class structure of the society and the real position of individual classes and social strata; the political system of the society and pertinent legal norms; the cultural level of individual social groups; the impact of tradition; the foreign policy orientation of a country; and the situation in inter-state and international relations.

The industrial and technological revolution has opened a way to more rapid human progress. The development of mass communication media has 'shrunk' the world, drawn countries and peoples closer and made it possible for one part of the world to know incomparably more about the other areas of the world today than ever in history. And in this context it seems that through the assembly and dissemination of information even the most remote country has been transformed into the immediate neighbourhood. Here also man, with the assistance of science, has conquered nature. The atmosphere has in a great measure been put to use for the transmission of man's messages. Today, there are practically no technical obstacles to live circulation of information between all the regions and countries of the world. And if there exist impediments these are, first and foremost, of a socio-political, material, legal, etc. nature—more specifically, an expression of the exclusiveness of individual societies and of technological backwardness and the inability of some countries to incorporate themselves into respective information dissemination systems.

In the system of public communication of every country, class and political components are strongly reflected. These components are evident also in Yugoslav practice. The socialist revolution with its victory over an obsolete social system has also demolished the old system of values, and the

system of the values of the working class has become a predominant moral, political and social norm of social communication. This, in the legal sense, is likewise reflected in a system of public communication. Socialist self-managing development in Yugoslavia continues to assert the principle whereby man and the freedom of individuals constitute the fundamental social values. Socialist self-management is a kind of social organization of society in which the working people and citizens daily make decisions on social matters, while the sphere of their influence is constantly being extended to all the areas of social life. Out of such a social structure and social status of the individual emerges the right to information, which must be truthful, comprehensive and timely. Therefore, to speak of the mass communication media in a self-managing socialist society in no way implies a mere mediation between man and values but involves the vital role of public information in socio-political life, in a process of self-managing decision-making, in the cultural and general development of society and personality. Consequently, the provision of information continuously and objectively in Yugoslavia is inherent in its system of social relations; it is the salient feature of those relations, without which it is not possible to exercise qualified self-managing decision-making. In Yugoslavia, therefore, public information is not only a means of satisfying political, cultural and other curiosity, nor is it simply an expression of the need to expand the individual's knowledge of the world. It is an internal need of social relationships within which a socially committed and, in fact, enlightened personality is developed.

In Yugoslavia, public opinion and the system of public communication are constituent elements of the socio-political system. Public communication and public opinion are interdependent both as elements of the same structures and as factors which mutually interact upon one another. Their common denominator and a characteristic feature is total openness and candour. The system of public communication greatly contributes towards social life and political, cultural and general creativeness.

It is also necessary to point out factors inhibiting the development of the system of public communication in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and full implementation of the proclaimed policy of public communication.

Above all, Yugoslavia is still a developing country and its insufficient material potential acts as a restricting factor upon the development of its communication system. The country, however, has been rapidly developing both economically and socially, which is seen in the accelerated development of the mass communication media. It would not be superfluous to mention that structural changes in Yugoslav society continue to influence ever more positively the spread of the mass communication media.

The full realization of the policy of public communication is limited by a relatively high percentage of illiterates. About 15 per cent of the population is illiterate in Yugoslavia. This segment of the population has restricted capacities for absorbing the informative, educational and recreational output of the public communication media.

Analysis demonstrates that the dimension of the public communication media in Yugoslavia is influenced by many factors. According to research conducted by the Yugoslav Institute of Journalism diffusion and circulation of the press is positively influenced by: the income of the population which has been registering an upward trend; the increase of family budgets; rapid population growth in urban settlements; an increase of university graduates and persons with secondary education; a higher employment rate in non-manual occupations; the rise in the proportion of the population employed in tertiary activities; and the greater number of workers in the active population. According to this research, the dissemination of the mass information media is adversely affected by the high percentage of the population engaged in primary activities (agriculture, forestry, husbandry, fishing) and the high percentage of illiterate inhabitants. In terms of possibilities and tendencies in expanding public communication there is a greater number of factors exercising positive than those exercising negative influence.

A decisive influence is exercised upon the policy of public communication in Yugoslavia by socialist self-management as a new system of production relationships. The freedom of dissemination of public information is recognized as a fundamental human right. The freedom of public information is being expanded both as the right of the individual and as a requirement of society as a whole. The self-managing socialist democracy encourages the broadening of this demand because the working man's need for knowledge and information has become a vital need of all participants in the process of self-managing decision-making. Those benefiting from communication have become freer:

The media enjoy greater rights with respect to access to information, greater freedom in selection, formulating and creating work.

Founders of newspapers, radio, television stations and other media of mass communication have greater possibilities to exercise their influence towards having these resources serve the social aims for which they were established.

Recipients of public information enjoy greater freedom: it is their constitutional right to be truthfully and fully informed on all matters of interest to them; it is the right of recipients of information, both as self-managers and as creators of values, to influence directly the content of public communication by way of a free exchange of labour; recipients of public communication, as a segment of public opinion, inform the public on social developments and events.

2 The historical development of mass communication in Yugoslavia

The development of the press and other information Media until the end of the Second World War (1945)

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the press appeared and began to spread in Europe, the Yugoslav peoples were living under the rule of Turkey, Austria and Venice which impeded their national, economic and cultural development. In the second part of the nineteenth century, of six republics which compose present-day Yugoslavia only Montenegro and Serbia (without the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina) were independent States, while Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as Kosovo and Vojvodina, remained within the framework of other States until the unification of Yugoslavia in 1918. That is why the press among the Yugoslav peoples began to develop considerably later than in the independent European countries. That was also the reason why the first Serbian and Macedonian newspapers were published outside the territory of present-day Yugoslavia.

The development of the press until the unification of Yugoslavia

The first printing-houses on the territory of present-day Yugoslavia were founded at the end of the fifteenth century in Montenegro and Croatia and in the sixteenth century in Bosnia, Serbia and Slovenia. However, they managed to be active only for a short period, as the living conditions of the Yugoslav peoples were very hard. Thus, from the development of the first printing press till the printing of the first newspapers three whole centuries were to elapse.

The history of the periodical press in the countries composing present-day Yugoslavia commenced in 1768 with the appearance of the journal *Slaveno-Serbski Magazin* which was printed in Venice. The founder and editor of this periodical (only one issue was published) was Zaharije Orfelin, one of the most active Serbian writers and educationists of the eighteenth century. The first Serbian newspaper was published in Vienna in 1791 under the title *Serbskija Novini*. It was in the same town that the publication of the first daily *Novine Serbske* (1813–22), whose editor was Dimitrije Davidovic, was initiated. The first Slovenian newspaper which was at the

same time the first newspaper written in the language of the people on the territory of present-day Yugoslavia, was issued in Ljubljana from 1797 to 1800 under the title *Ljubljanske Novice* (the editor was Valentin Vodnik). The newspaper *Kraljski Dalmatin,* which was published in Zadar from 1806 to 1810 during the French administration in Dalmatia, marks the beginnings of the Croatian press. The first newspaper in the Principality of Serbia was issued in Kragujevac in 1834 (*Novine serbske*), while on the territory of the present autonomous province of Vojvodina newspapers have been published since 1848 (*Vestnik*, Novi Sad). The press dedicated to readers in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been developing since 1850, when the newspaper *Bosanski Prijatelj*, printed in Zagreb, first appeared.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the press began to spread more rapidly in the countries of present-day Yugoslavia. The publication was started of the first newspapers on the territory of the present republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Bosanski Vjestnik*, Sarajevo, 1866), Montenegro (*Crnogorac*, Cetinje, 1871) and the province of Kosovo (*Prizren*, Prizren, 1871). The first Macedonian press (*Makedonski Glas*, Sofia, 1885) was also set up. In the last few decades of the nineteenth century newspapers and periodicals appeared in the smaller towns of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Vojvodina. The press became more varied: readers were offered comics and children's magazines, papers dealing with commerce, craftsmanship, fashion, education, as well as with military and medical subjects. According to the published bibliographical data 55 papers and periodicals in the languages of the Yugoslav peoples (24 Serbian, 20 Croatian and 11 Slovenian) were published in 1867. From 1871 to 1880, 140 new periodical publications were inaugurated, while during the last two decades 800 new papers and journals have appeared.

In addition to general economic and cultural conditions, the political and class differences among the population have had an impact upon the development of the press. As a reaction against the bourgeois political newspapers, the first organs of the socialist press emerged. Svetozar Markovic was the initiator, in 1871, of *Radenik*, published in Belgrade, which was the first socialist paper in Serbia and in the Balkans. A few years later the first socialist-oriented workers' paper appeared in Croatia (*Radnicki Prijatelj*, Zagreb, 1874), and at the end of the last century the first Slovenian (*Novi Cas*, Ljubljana, 1889) and the first Macedonian socialist papers (*Revolucija*, Sofia, 1895) were published.

Since the beginning of the present century the press has developed at a speedier pace. During the first decade already 755 new papers and journals were published. This period is also notable for the rapid increase in the number of daily newspapers. Before the First World War three socialist papers were issued as dailies: *Radnicke Novine* in Belgrade, *Slobodnarijec* in Zagreb and *Glas Slobode* in Sarajevo.

The press in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

Fighting for centuries against different oppressors and occupying powers, the peoples of Yugoslavia were united on 1 December 1918 into a common State named at that time the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (while from 1929 its name was the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). The establishment of a unified State created possibilities for more rapid economic development of the country and cultural progress of its peoples. However, the establishment of the new State was carried out in a non-democratic manner, and beginning in 1934, pro-fascist principles, contrary to the will of the peoples, were established, while the State authorities expressed and protected the interests of the bourgeois class and the monarchy. The two most important issues—the social and the national—were left unsolved even after the unification of the country. Therefore, from the first days after the establishment of the union the monarchy suffered permanent crises which persisted until the capitulation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia during the war in April 1941.

In addition to the considerable number of already existing newspapers, whose publication was continued in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, a genuine flood of new papers occurred after unification. They were initiated by the political parties, various social and professional organizations, capitalist groups, individuals, economic and other institutions. In the first post-war years the development of the daily press was particularly remarkable. At one time sixty-one daily papers were published. However, many of these papers died out after the first issues, since they could not compete with papers boasting both capital and experienced journalists. In the period from 1921 to 1939 the total number of papers and journals in Yugoslavia ranged from 648 to 1,108. At the beginning of 1941 there were twenty-three dailies with a total circulation of 389,000 copies. The highest circulation was reached by the Belgrade dailies *Politika* (146,000), *Vreme* (65,000) and *Pravda* (45,000), followed by the Zagreb dailies *Novosti* (23,000), *Jutarnji List* (21,000) and the Maribor daily *Vecernik* (20,000).

From the first months of the existence of the new State a considerable number of workers' and trade union organizations began to publish their own papers. In order to achieve unity of the revolutionary movement, all the workers' parties merged into the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1919. From its establishment the Party devoted great attention to the press and entrusted the publication and editing of papers to its best qualified members. A total of eighteen papers and journals was issued by the Communist Party in May 1920 with a total monthly circulation of 740,000 copies. The first central organ of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was *Radnicke Novine*, published in Belgrade.

The consolidation of the workers' movement created concern among the ruling middle class which used all the available means to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas among the people. At the end of 1920 the government banned the Communist Party and its press. After the suppression,

the Party went underground. However, it did not abandon legal forms of activity. In its endeavours to reach, with its written word, the working class and the people it initiated new legal and underground papers and journals, which were continuously exposed to attacks by the police. Its central news organs were *Borba*, which was published in Zagreb from 1922 to 1929, the underground paper *Komunist*, published in Belgrade in 1925 and *Klasna Borba* and *Proleter* which were printed abroad.

The press in the National Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution

After having subjugated and conquered most European countries, fascist armies occupied Yugoslavia in April of 1941. The territory of Yugoslavia was divided between Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria. The occupants created the independent State of Croatia which included Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and part of Vojvodina, under the administration of the *oustachis* (the Croatian fascists). The occupants also created *quisling* administrations in other parts of the country with the help of fascist and separatist elements. During these hard times only the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, with Josip Broz Tito as its leader from 1937, remained with the people—monolithic and resolved to wage a national liberation struggle against the occupiers and quislings and organize a socialist revolution in the country. This resolve was carried into effect and the conflagration of the armed struggle had already spread throughout Yugoslavia by the summer of 1941. The national liberation struggle was marked by the unusually broad scope of its press. According to the data of the Institute of Military History in Belgrade, during the war 3,648 periodical publications (papers, journals and bulletins) were published and 5,468 books and pamphlets printed in Yugoslavia by the participants in the National Liberation Movement and the units of the National Liberation Army; the partisan detachments, the Communist Party, the People's Liberation Front, the Women's Anti-Fascist Front, People's Liberation Committees, the youth movement and scouts published their own papers and bulletins. Whenever possible papers were printed in printing-houses but when such facilities were not available these publications were reproduced by other means (copying machines, typewriters) and in some cases they were even copied by hand.

Making use of the experience gained in its work before the war, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had already organized at the beginning of the national liberation struggle the publication of newspapers and literature in all parts of Yugoslavia. In August 1941, in an underground printing-house in Belgrade the first issue of the *Bulletin* of the Supreme Head-quarters of the National Liberation Partisan Detachments was published. The first editor of the *Bulletin* was Josip Broz Tito, Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Chief of Staff. By frequently changing the site of its printing-press its publishers managed to keep on issuing it until the end of the war.

Particularly intense activity in the field of the press developed in the liberated territories. For example, in the large liberated territory whose centre was Uzice (Serbia) *Borba*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, whose editor was Edvard Kardelj, member of the highest political and military leadership of the national liberation struggle, began to come out. During the National Liberation War a number of papers were revived or new ones appeared as the organs of the People's Liberation Fronts of certain republics; they were *Vjesnik* in Croatia, *Slovenski Porocevalec* in Slovenia, *Oslobodjenje* in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Nova Makedonija* in Macedonia and *Pobjeda* in Montenegro.

The publication of newspapers was also organized in the occupied territories. In spite of the brutal terror of the occupying and quisling authorities, who punished any resistance by death, the Communist Party succeeded in organizing underground printing-houses and publishing newspapers and bulletins in many occupied towns. In the occupied territories the organs of the People's Liberation Front of Serbia (*Glas*), Vojvodina (*Slobodna Vojvodina*) and Kosovo (*Glas Naroda—Zani i Populit*) were issued.

The beginnings and development of radio

The first application of radio in the territory of Yugoslavia is linked with Montenegro. In 1904, a radio-telegraph station was set up on the mountain of Volujica, near Bar, on the Adriatic coast, which operated until the beginning of the First World War, maintaining contact with a similar station in Bari (Italy). The first broadcasting station in Yugoslavia was put into operation in 1926 in Zagreb (Radio Zagreb). The second broadcasting station to start functioning was in Ljubljana, in 1927, and the third in Belgrade, in 1929. Several years later, in 1936, a short-wave transmitter station was set up, which broadcast programmes for foreign countries. These four broadcasting stations (total power 45 kW) broadcast in 1939 a total of 14,540 hours of programme. In the same year there were 155,133 registered subscribers. A broadcasting station which operated as a re-transmitter of Radio Belgrade was established in Skopje just before the occupation of Yugoslavia (1941).

In the very first days of the National Liberation War the first partisan broadcasting stations emerged. Equipped extremely modestly, they sprang up first in the occupied towns and later in the liberated territories. In the middle of 1941 an underground station operated in Zagreb as part of the equipment of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia. On the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovenia an underground broadcasting station was set up in the autumn of 1941, which, calling on the people to fight against the occupiers, remained active for several months. The first partisan broadcasting station on liberated territory began to operate in the village of Stolice (Serbia) in 1941. During

the war there were a few smaller broadcasting stations which served as a source of information for the army and the people.

From November 1941 to March 1945 the broadcasting station *Slobodna Jugoslavija* (Free Yugoslavia), which was situated in the territory of the Soviet Union, transmitted its programme regularly. As it was equipped with powerful transmitters its programme could be received in the whole territory of Yugoslavia and far beyond its boundaries. As a reliable source of information to foreign agencies and broadcasting stations Slobodna Jugoslavija made a major contribution to the spread of true facts about the National Liberation War and the political developments in Yugoslavia, since it obtained information directly from the Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Army. The outstanding Yugoslav revolutionary, Veljko Vlahovic, who also wrote most of the texts for the programme of Slobodna Jugoslavija, was in charge of this broadcasting station.

The founding of the first news agencies

The first Yugoslav news agency, Avala, was founded in 1919 in Belgrade. Its initial activity consisted in issuing a news bulletin in French for the use of the foreign press. Subsequently, it established a service for daily news for the representatives of foreign press agencies in Belgrade. In 1920, telephone communications with agencies in Paris, Berlin, Athens, Madrid and later on with other European capitals were established. The Avala agency functioned as the only press agency in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia until 1941 when it was taken over by the occupier and operated as the agency named Balkan.

In the liberated territory of Yugoslavia, while war was still being waged, Telegrafska Agencija Nove Jugoslavije (Tanjug) was founded. It started to function on 5 November 1943 in the town of Jajce (Bosnia and Herzegovina) where the political and military headquarters was situated at that time. (The work of the agency was organized by Mosa Pijade, a pre-war revolutionary and publicist and outstanding leader during the war.) One of the first tasks of the agency was to inform the domestic and foreign public about the work of the second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia, held in Jajce on 29 November 1943, on which occasion historic decisions were made on the establishment of socialist Yugoslavia on democratic and federal principles. During the war, editorial and correspondent's offices of Tanjug were established in all the liberated parts of the country. In addition to the preparation of news and reports for the domestic press, and with the assistance rendered by the news agencies and broadcasting stations of allied countries, Tanjug also transmitted its information to foreign countries. Following the Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Army throughout the war—from Jajce to Drvar and the Island of Vis—the editorial staff of Tanjug moved in October 1944

to the newly liberated capital, Belgrade, where its main office is still situated today.

The beginnings of film

The first film shows in the area of present-day Yugoslavia were put on in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana as early as 1896, only a few months after the first public film show in the world, organized by the Lumière brothers in Paris. A filmed review shot by Milton Manaki, a photographer from Bitolj (Macedonia), marked the beginning of Yugoslav film. The first permanent cinema was opened in Belgrade in 1906. The first feature film was shot in Belgrade also in 1910.

In the period between the two world wars several film-producing enterprises and companies were established in Belgrade and Zagreb, producing filmed reviews, documentaries and full-length pictures. In addition, full-length films were produced in Ljubljana.

During the Second World War, in the liberated territories of Slovenia and Croatia, valuable film matter was shot with cameras captured from the enemy. The film section affiliated to the Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Army shot its first issue of the newsreel *Filmske Novosti* on the territory of Serbia in October 1944. Since that time *Filmske Novosti* has been produced regularly, recording daily all the significant events taking place in Yugoslavia.

Public communication media in socialist Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1975

During the liberation war and through the socialist revolution the nations and national minorities of Yugoslavia attained their social and national liberation. By the proclamation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia at the first session of the Constituent Assembly in Belgrade on 29 November 1945, the monarchic form of government was formaly terminated in Yugoslavia. On the basis of the new Constitution (of 31 January 1946), by which the goals of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution were confirmed, fundamental changes in the socio-economic system of the country were made. By special laws on nationalization adopted in 1946 and 1948 (referring among others to printing-houses, paper mills, radio transmitters and press institutions in private ownership), the basic means of production were taken away from private owners and came under State ownership.

During the first few post-war years, in the period of revolutionary etatism, the press and other information media were directly responsible to the State and Party organs. The introduction into the economy of worker's self-management (1950) and the transformation of State ownership into social ownership, marked the beginning of the decentralization of the entire

Yugoslav system and a gradual transition to the system of worker's and social self-management in all fields of economic, political and cultural life and consequently in the sphere of the public information media.

The press

Since many printing-houses were damaged or completely destroyed during the war, work on repairing the old equipment and purchasing more modern printing equipment abroad was started immediately after the liberation of the country. By 1947, the Yugoslav press was already equipped with more sophisticated printing techniques than before the war. In the meantime, the number of newspapers increased to 217, in comparison with 97 in 1945. Another 150 new papers and approximately the same number of journals were published by 1950. The total circulation of the periodical press in that period increased annually by an average of 50 million copies (the total circulation in 1950 was 525 million). With certain fluctuations, the number and circulation of newspapers have increased further. According to official statistical data a total number of 3,138 papers and magazines was published in Yugoslavia in 1974. There are 25 dailies, 10 papers which are printed several times a week, 196 weekly newspapers, 222 magazines published every fortnight and 1,014 monthlies. Their total annual circulation amounts to 964 million copies. The largest number of newspapers and magazines was published by economic organizations (1,005), non-economic organizations (582), publishing organization (425), socio-political and social organizations (394), professional associations (325), primary and secondary schools (152), religious organizations (127), sports organizations (65), military organizations (43) and other different organizations (28). However, newspapers issued by news publishing firms comprise 84 per cent of the total circulation.

From 1945 to 1975 the number of dailies doubled from 13 to 26 while their average daily circulation increased from 672,000 to 1,881,000 copies, which comprises 60 per cent of the circulation of the Yugoslav periodicals press. In 1975, there were 16 morning informative and political dailies, 7 evening papers, 2 sports and 1 economic paper in Yugoslavia. In Belgrade there were 6 dailies (*Borba, Politika, Vecernje Novosti, Politika Ekspres, Sport* and *Privredni Pregled*), while in Zagreb there were 3 (*Vjesnik, Vecernji List* and *Sportske Novosti*). There were 2 dailies in five other towns: Ljubljana (*Delo* and *Dnevnik*), Sarajevo (*Oslobodjenje* and *Vecernje Novine*), Skopje (*Nova Makedonija* and *Vecer*), Novi Sad (*Dnevnik* and *Magyar Szò*) and Rijeka (*Novi List* and *La Voce del Popolo*). The following towns had 1 daily: Titograd (*Pobjeda*), Pristina (*Rilindija*), Split (*Slobodna Dalmacija*), Osijek (*Glas Slavonije*), Nis (*Narodne Novine*), Maribor (*Vecer*) and Pula *Glas Istre*). The Belgrade dailies *Vecernje Novosti* (331,000) and *Politika* (265,000) and the Zagreb daily *Vecernji List*, (216,000) had the greatest circulation.

Among the political and information weeklies the greatest circulation in 1975 was achieved by *Komunist*, organ of the League of Communists

of Yugoslavia, which is published in six versions—in Serbo-Croat (in Cyrillic characters), Croato-Serbian (in Latin characters), Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian and Hungarian—and has editorial offices in all the republican and provincial centres. Its average circulation in 1975 totalled 270,000 copies. The political and informative weeklies *NIN* (Belgrade) and *Vjesnik u Szijedu* (Zagreb) had a circulation each of 90,000 copies. Among picture magazines the greatest circulation was achieved in 1975 by *Politikin Zabavnik* (330,000), *TV Novosti* (282,000) and *Illustrovana Politika* (263,000) published in Belgrade, and *Studio* (243,000) published in Zagreb.

With the development of the worker's and social self-management system the need for more comprehensive information for people in work organizations and communes increased. A large number of factory and local newspapers have appeared as a result of the desire to satisfy that need. Before 1950 there were only a dozen factory papers; in 1963 there were approximately 300, while in 1975 more than 1,000. In the period from 1950 to 1975 the number of weekly and fortnightly local newspapers increased from 24 to 80.

The press in the languages of all the national minorities has enjoyed a continuous growth in socialist Yugoslavia. In 1945, 13 newspapers and journals were published in the languages of the national minorities. In 1974, their total number was 116 periodical issues (printed in 9 languages) with a total circulation of 28 million copies. There are 3 dailies published in the languages of some of the national minorities *Rilindija* (in Albanian), *Magyar Szò* (in Hungarian) and *La Voce del Popolo* (in Italian). Other national minorities also have their political and informative weeklies: *Bratstvo* (in Bulgarian) published in Nis, *Jednota* (in Czech) published in Daruvar, *Libertatea* (in Romanian) published in Pancevo *Ruske Slovo* (in Ruthenian) and *Hlas Ludu* (in Slovak) published in Novi Sad, in Skopje *Birlik* and in Pristina *Tan* (in Turkish).

After the proclamation of the new constitution in 1974, and the introduction of the delegation system, a larger number of papers for the use of delegates and delegations was started. There is a joint organ of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and separate papers of the republican and provincial assemblies. In 1975, the following were published: *Bilten za Delegacije i Delegate* (Bosnia and Herzegovina), *Delegatske Novine* (Montenegro), *Delegatski Vjesnik* (Croatia), *Delegatski Informator* (Macedonia), *Porocevalec* (Slovenia), *Skupstinski Pregled* (Serbia), *Gazeta e Delegateve* and *Delegatske Novine* (Kosovo), *Delegatski Glasnik* and *Küldöttek Hiradòja* (Vojvodina). The total circulation of these ten publications per one issue was 400,000. The assemblies of certain towns and communes, particularly the larger ones, began publishing their papers for delegates as independent papers, bulletins or special supplements to the existing newspapers.

Radio

The number of broadcasting stations and their listeners has constantly

increased but marked progress in the development of broadcasting in Yugoslavia took place only after 1950 when a large number of local broadcasting stations emerged. In 1945, Yugoslavia had 10 broadcasting stations with a total power of 44 kW while in 1974 there were 186 broadcasting stations whose total power was 6,879 kW, 8 of these were generating (republican and provincial) and 178 were local broadcasting stations. During that period the number of subscribers increased from 180,000 to 4 million.

Along with the building of new broadcasting stations a large number of re-transmitters was installed and a broad network of transmitters was developed, which made it possible for radio broadcasting to cover all parts of Yugoslavia. All the Yugoslav broadcasting stations together transmitted in 1974, through their 487 radio transmitters, a total of 298,000 hours of programme (111,000 hours of discourse and 187,000 hours of musical programme). According to the data of the Yugoslav Radio and Television organization, in 1975 there were 4,181,000 radio subscribers, which means an average of 1 radio receiver per 5 inhabitants.

The largest main broadcasting stations have several programmes. Radio Belgrade has five programmes, four programmes for Yugoslavia and one for foreign countries (which transmits on short wave in nine languages). Radio Zagreb has four programmes of which one is dedicated to Yugoslav workers abroad. The same number of programmes is broadcast by Radio Sarajevo. Broadcasting programmes in Ljubljana and Novi Sad have three programmes each. In order to satisfy the needs of nationalities which live in Vojvodina and in Kosovo, Radio Novi Sad transmits its main programme in five languages—Serbo-Croat, Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak and Ruthenian—while Radio Pristina broadcasts in Serbo-Croat and Turkish. Besides programmes in Macedonian, Radio Skopje has broadcasts in Albanian and Turkish. Furthermore, some local broadcasting stations in the territories in which other nationalities live transmit programmes in two or more languages (for example, Radio Koper prepares its programmes in Slovenian and Italian, and Radio Nis in Serbo-Croat and Bulgarian).

Television

The first television programme was broadcast in Yugoslavia from the Zagreb studio in 1956. Two years later television studios were established at Belgrade and Ljubljana. The planned construction of re-transmitters made it possible to establish a joint Yugoslav television programme which has been running since 1958. In the first years this programme comprised the contributions of the television studios in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana and since 1961 Television Skopje and Television Sarajevo have been participating in the joint programme. By 1975, television studios had been built in all republican and provincial centres. They produce their own programmes for the region of their respective republics and provinces and at the same time they participate in the preparation of the joint Yugoslav programme. The broadcasting of the first colour television programme started in 1971 (RTV Ljubljana

and RTV Belgrade). The television broadcasting stations in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana run two channels. Pristina Television broadcasts programmes in Albanian and Serbo-Croat and also some programmes in Turkish while Novi Sad Television broadcasts Serbo-Croat and, Hungarian and also runs some programmes in Romanian, Ruthenian and Slovak. RTV Skopje, besides the programme in Macedonian, has regular programmes in Turkish. The television studio of Koper, which operates as an organizational unit of RTV Ljubljana, broadcasts a separate programme in Italian.

From the establishment of the first television studio until 1975 the number of television subscribers in Yugoslavia has increased annually by an average of 140,000 new subscribers. In 1975 there were 2,847,000 television subscribers, or 1 television set per 7.4 habitants.

The Tanjug news agency

From a small and technically poorly equipped agency, Tanjug has become a press institution which, according to the quantity of press material received and transmitted occupies an outstanding place among the national news agencies in the world. Through its internal and foreign sources, Tanjug received in 1975 an average of 800,000 words daily which is equal to a book of 2,600 pages. The agency runs offices in all republican and provincial centres. Its professional staff comprises 250 journalists of whom 40 are permanent correspondents abroad.

News and other information which is prepared in the editorial offices of Tanjug are relayed to the public through modern means of telecommunication (radio, teleprinter, telex, telephoto). For the public at home and abroad the agency puts out over 100 specialized bulletins and other publications. In its 'General Service', special services and bulletins, including the foreign programme, Tanjug daily broadcasts and publishes about 1,000 pages. Through its own communication equipment it runs a programme for foreign countries in five languages (English, French, Russian, German and Spanish) for a duration of 57 hours daily. In addition to the 'Features Services' which is prepared in five languages and forwarded to ninety countries, Tanjug publishes the review *Yugoslav Life* and distributes it to over 100 countries on all continents and exchanges photos with forty foreign photo agencies.

Tanjug exchanges information with non-aligned countries within the framework of the Non-Aligned Countries' News Agency Pool which started to function in January 1975 (in Tanjug's office) in conformity with the recommendations adopted at the Fourth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers in 1973. The news and information supplied by the pool are broadcast in English, French and Spanish. At the beginning of 1976, thirty-four agencies from non-aligned countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe participated in the work of the pool. The Non-Aligned Countries' News Agency Pool has established co-operation with the Office of Public Information of the United Nations (OPI-UN) and is also developing co-operation with Unesco.

Film

In 1945, Yugoslavia had only one film institution (Filmsko Preduzece Jugoslavije, Belgrade) which produced 24 weekly newsreels and 8 documentary films. At the end of 1974, the number of film organizations was 31 and the number of films produced 486 (16 full-length films and 470 short films). That year Yugoslavia exported 90 films of its own production to 52 countries and imported 217 foreign films.

The only film organization in Yugoslavia which is active in the sphere of information is Filmske Novosti, Belgrade. In 1975, it produced 112 films comprising 52 regular weekly newsreels (*Filmske Novosti*), 10 filmed reviews for Yugoslav workers abroad, 12 monthly filmed reviews *Kroz ceo Svet*, 8 special editions of newsreels and 13 newsreels and filmed reviews ordered by other countries. The weekly newsreel *Filmske Novosti* is reproduced in 54 copies and shown in 560 Yugoslav cinemas. Weekly newsreels are exchanged with 37 foreign film organizations.

3 Public policy in the field of communication

Changes in production relations and the economic and social organization of society in Yugoslavia effected in the post-war period were significant from the viewpoint of the general socio-economic development and of the development of the system of mass communication. In this context the initiation of the process of worker's and socialist self-management in 1950 was most significant. The transition to socialist self-management in Yugoslavia started the process of broader democratization of the society which had a favourable impact upon the role and position of mass communication media.

Constitutional regulation of information activies

As regards the freedom of information, the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia proceeds from the viewpoint that the working man and self-manager should decide on his rights in the field of public communication. The right to information is established by the Constitution as an element of the sovereignty of self-managers.

In order to understand the basis upon which the socio-political system and the system of public information, and particularly the social necessity for the freedom of dissemination of public information, is established at least some fundamental principles of the socialist self-managing democracy which is currently being developed in Yugoslavia should be mentioned:

The abolition of class exploitation and ownership monopolies.

Immediate self-managing decision-making of working men in the basic organizations of associated labour.

The establishment of self-management in work organizations and institutions, in local communities, self-managing communities of interest,[1] in communes, provinces, republics and the federation as well as in the society in general.

Free and self-managing harmonization of individual and common interests.

The right to decision-making through delegations and delegates in assemblies and other organs of self-management.

Communication of information to working people about all questions of concern for their socio-economic position.

1. See pages 44 and 45 for explanation.

Full control of the society over the work of the holders of self-managing, public and other social functions.

Personal responsibility of the holders of self-managing, public and other social functions, the liability to replacement of the holders of these functions and the limitation of their re-election and re-appointment to certain functions.

Free and comprehensive social activity of people, etc.

The principles mentioned have a profound impact upon the policy of public communication in Yugoslavia. The main position of this policy is that in Yugoslavia public information is a social need and right and not a 'commodity'.

The Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the constitutions of the republics and provinces set forth the principles of the policy of public communication, among which are also the public character and openness of the public communication media.

Article 98 of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia defines the principle of the public character of work as follows:

The work of state agencies and of managing bodies of organizations of associated labour and other self-managing organizations and communities and of the agencies of the socio-political organizations and association shall be public.

The mode of ensuring the public character of work shall be regulated by statute and self-management enactments.

Affairs and data which are considered to be secret and may not be made public shall be specified by statute and self-management enactments.

The principle of publicity may not be contrary to the security and defence of interests of the country or to other social interests specified by statute.

The concept of public character, examined from the viewpoint of its development, has been continously broadened along with the democratization of social relations in Yugoslavia. The assertion of the public character of work ensues from the very essence of socialist self-management which is aimed at the complete liberation of the human personality. The notion of the public character of work is actually much broader than its definition in the constitutional and legal provisions. The determinants of that notion include such concepts as: freedom of expression of thought and will; freedom of the press; public performance of activities of public concern in the sense that every citizen interested in the implementation of that right may acquaint himself with the mode of carrying out these activities; possibilities for public criticism; ever-greater openness of all social organs towards society; social supervision of the disposal of social resources; social responsibility of persons and organs for their work; further democratization of the socio-political system, etc. This means that the public character of work is not a condition but a process which is expanded simultaneously with the ever-greater democratization of the society. The public character of work and, in that context, the necessity of a better supply of information enable producers and working people to participate in decision-making in a more qualified manner.

It is understandable that along the road to the establishment of such a concept of the public character of work numerous obstacles still exist which arise from contradictions existing in Yugoslav society as well as from unsolved international relations in the contemporary world.

The basic principles of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its Article 168 set forth the concept of the compulsory communication of information to working people 'on all issues which are significant for the realization of their socio-economic position and ever-more comprehensive and qualified decision-making in the execution of power and management of other social affairs'. Article 168 of the Constitution reads as follows:

Citizens shall be guaranteed the right to be kept informed of developments in the country and in the world which are of concern for their life and work and of questions of concern to the community. The press, radio and television and other media of information shall be bound to inform the public truthfully and objectively, and to make public the opinions and information of bodies, organizations and citizens which are of concern to the public.

The federal, republican and provincial constitutions explicitly or by the general way they regulate the question of public communication assert the principle of free access to the sources of information and the equal right to information and they take the standpoint that the secrecy of the press covers only information which inevitably belongs to that category.

Freedom of the press and other forms of public communication—practice and trends

Article 167 of the Constitution reads as follows:

Freedom of the press and other media of information and public expression, freedom of association, freedom of speech and public expression, freedom of gathering and public assembly, shall be guaranteed.

Citizens shall have the right to express and publish their opinions through the media of information.

Citizens, organizations and citizens' associations may, under conditions specified by statute, publish newspapers and other publications and disseminate information through other media of information.

However traditional these formulations might seem, they assume new qualities in the context of socialist self-management as a new production relation. Besides these legal norms, the freedom of information is determined by the actual position of the working man and citizen as producer and active participant in self-managing social relations. These relations override and transcend the traditional limitations of these provisions.

From what has been presented so far a conclusion of fundamental importance may be drawn: according to the Constitution of the Socialist

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, its laws, political documents and practice, the freedom of the press and other forms of information in Yugoslavia are not identical with the struggle against censorship as an extreme which hinders and restrains creativity in written, spoken and pictorial journalism. The well-known and classical definition of the freedom of the press is no longer the basic provision of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The formal 'freedom of the press' has been transformed into the 'right to information'. The provisions of the Constitution (Basic Principles, IV) are the following:

> In order to create a society of free producers, the working class and all working people shall develop socialist self-management democracy as a special form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they shall ensure this through:
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Keeping the working people informed on all questions significant for the achievement of their socio-economic status and for the fullest and most competent possible decision-making in the performance of functions of power and management of other social affairs;
>
> The public character of work of all organs of power and self management and of holders of self-management, public and other social function.

There is also the following provision in the Constitution (Basic Principles, VIII):

> In the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, the working people and citizens, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as the leading ideological and political force, and other socio-political organizations and all organized socialist forces shall realize the political and actional unity of socialist forces and shall guide social development founded on the power of and self-management by the working class and all working people, and for this purpose they shall:
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Make sure that the working people and citizens are kept informed, and ensure their influence on the social system of information and the realization of the role of the press and other media of public information and communication.

In this context it is not the formal freedom of the press which is in question but the realization of social conditions for actual freedom of the public communication media. The spreading of public information means here the freedom of all active elements of the information process. The freedom of the communicator, the recipient and the information media is at the same time defined. Possibilities are created for the public to express its views through public information media. The social significance of its attitude in respect to information is emphasized. Public information can flow horizontally and vertically while the communicator and the recipient are placed in such a position that they encourage the free circulation of information and social interaction. Such freedom is based upon numerous objective and subjective factors but it also depends on the system of public communication which has its specific independence and responsibility. The freedom to collect,

interpret and disseminate public information is not taken as a separate form of freedom, independent from other forms of human freedom. It should be viewed in relation to the objectives of the self-managing society, to the physical and mental characteristics of man and to the socio-political, material, cultural and technological stage of development of the society. The socio-political relations in Yugoslavia are marked by the aspiration to make the human personality an entity in the self-managing social relations. However, he is not envisaged as an isolated individual but as an associate member of many social groups and the whole social community.

Man is liberated from social forces in a similar manner to his liberation from the natural elements, to the extent that he understands them and is able to utilize them in compliance with his needs. Conscious activity and conscious creation of history calls for an abundance of information, freedom of communication and a state of being completely informed. However, there is no absolute freedom without responsibility. It does not exist in the sphere of public communication either. Freedom is always a concrete historical category implying the existence of some limitations, depending upon the level of the over-all development of a society. Besides, the formal, normatively established freedom is not always the real, actual freedom. Therefore, when public communication is involved, the fundamental question is not whether its freedom is guaranteed only by the law but whether it is not in the anarchic freedom in public communication—behind which the monopoly over the public word always stands—but in the stage of development of all human and social freedoms, and within that category, also of the freedom of public information as a responsible and socially significant activity of all subjects in the sphere of public communication.

The legal regulation of informative activity

The whole complex normative system regulating the relations in the field of public communication is based upon the principles set forth in the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It comprises the following: (a) the constitutions of the socialist republics and provinces, by-laws of communes and statutes of working organizations which elaborate the constitutional principles on the right of citizens to be informed, to freedom of expression and freedom of social criticism and initiatives; (b) legal enactment regulating the position and function of the press, radio, television, film and other public communication media and the informative activity in the broadest sense; (c) political and self-management acts of socio-political organizations whereby the sphere of the exertion of public influence through mass communication media is regulated; (d) documents of professional organizations—for example, the Statute of the Association of Journalists of Yugoslavia—normative acts of republican and provincial journalists' associations, the Journalists' Code of Conduct, statutes of work organizations active in the field of communication, correspondents' clubs, etc.;

(e) legal enactments which regulate general legal relations and which can be partially applied to information activities (the Criminal Code).

The completion and harmonization of the whole normative system has not yet been accomplished on the organizational plane but the theoretical and political basis of the system has been established. In this field also the transition from State administration to self-managing relations has increasingly been effected. The process of socialization of the informative activity and information is involved here. However, investigations have shown that the self-management enactment of basic organizations of associated labour quite often regulate these activities in a general and formalistic manner.

The legal regulation of public information activity has great significance in view of the fact that in Yugoslav society the institution of the State and the law still play a significant role, although is has been entirely changed in conformity with the self-managing socialist relations as basic relations in the society. In the republican and provincial laws on public communication (six republican and two provincial laws) the basic constitutional provisions are elaborated and the legal criteria of the domestic press and other mass communication media are being established. The rights of the federation, i.e. the federal authorities, in this field predominantly refer to the establishment of a criterion for the introduction and dissemination of the foreign press and other communication media, the regulation of the communications system, particularly radio communications and the regulation of foreign informative activities in Yugoslavia.

There are also State organs that are responsible for certain fields of information activity. At the federal level, it is the Federal Committee for Information and within the republican and provincial frameworks, secretariats for information. The Federal Committee for Information conducts affairs relating to the information of the public, through press and other information media on the general state of the country and the work of the federal organs and organizations. It is responsible for keeping foreign countries informed about Yugoslavia, as well as Yugoslav *emigrants* and Yugoslav citizens living abroad. The committee is also in charge of affairs connected with the work of foreign correspondents' offices and correspondents in Yugoslavia as well as the work of foreign information media related to Yugoslavia (foreign information and cultural centres). The republican and provincial secretariats for information carry out administrative work related to the system of public information in their respective republic or province, affairs related to the regulation of informative activity oriented toward foreign countries as well as the information of delegates and delegations. It is also their duty to inform the public about the work of the republican or provincial assemblies and executive organs. The list of the tasks and duties of the republican secretariats is constantly increasing as they are taking over these tasks from the federal organs, in compliance with the trend to decentralizate power in Yugoslavia.

The communications system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on a unified basis

According to its definition, the policy of public communication in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is unified. Since the public communication media are defined and treated as a constituent part of the political system, they are thereby defined as a unified communication system. The unity of the communication system results from the nature of the Yugoslav social community, the unity of interests of the working class and working people and the option of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia to live in equality and freedom in their multinational, federal community. The self-managing socialist social relation and other achievements of the Yugoslav socialist revolution are neither regional nor more the property of one nation or national minority than of all the others. Therefore, the information activity, according to its very nature, cannot be confined by some administrative limitations. In Yugoslav society the policy of public communication increasingly acquires an integrative role.

The federal system ensures that the greatest independence of the republics and provinces and the autonomy of communes are achieved while the organizations of associated labour enjoy a self-managing independence in decision-making. In such conditions the integral self-management system, expressed also in self-management agreements and social compacts, constitute a barrier to possible attempts to close off certain parts of the society, which may impede the free spread of information.

On that basis—i.e. on self-management agreements, compacts of social bodies (republics, provinces and other)—a Yugoslav communications system has been created which presents unity, in view of the multinational and multilingual composition of the population, with due respect to the differences and individuality of each group. The association of all forms of labour constitutes inevitably an encouragement to the free circulation of information. The press, radio, television, the supply of information to socio-political communities and political organizations, forms of local information as well as the internal information related to public activities are all constituent elements of the communications system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. That system includes the communicators, sources of information, consumers and all sections of public opinion.

The right of the working man to information

The right of the working man to be informed is established on the principles and concrete provisions of the Constitution, on the basis of legal clauses and normative acts, from those on the federal level to those in work organizations. In the documents of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Alliance and the Trade Unions' Association, the ideological and political bases of that right are laid down. The actual position of the

working man as a producer and self-manager in his work organization is the social basis of the entire legal and political infrastructure of the right to information.

The working people need a well-developed system of public communication in order to be truthfully and thoroughly informed about all significant social affairs and in order to be able to participate in a qualified manner in the process of decision-making. The importance of communication is directly manifest in a work organization. The function of information as a prerequisite for the achievement of the self-management rights of working people is most completely expressed in the work organization. Workers should be acquainted with numerous facts in order to be able to create policy, to make decisions on the earning, increase and distribution of income, on expanded production, on the development of their work organization and broader associations and social work according to adopted plans. They should be able to assess critically the data and proposals of professional and administrative services on their business results, on their position in respect to production and funds, expenses, the market process or the technical equipment of their work organization.

Similar relations are being established in the work communities of culture, education, science and other structures—from local communities and communes to the federation. By this means, the abuse of information is prevented and by the socialization of the sources of information, the mystic veil is raised from the political process and public social life. This creates conditions in which the interests of the working people and citizens, their work and creativity, their life and working conditions dominate public communication. Workers in associations are obliged to inform the public about their work.

Communication in work organizations

In their self-management enactments work organizations draw up the criteria and modes of keeping working people and the broader public informed about their work. The statutes usually make more concrete the constitutional provisions on the right to information while the by-laws of the work organizations establish the forms and means of communication, as well as the interval of time in which certain information will be supplied, the organization, number and professional qualification of the cadre which will work in the sphere of communication and the responsibility for timely and effective information.

The process of information in work organizations is carried out in three ways: (a) by traditional media—direct person to person supply of information in production and work units or at meetings of working people, meetings in the socio-political organizations, by a newspaper, bulletin, loudspeaker, notice board, graphs, films and photo-exhibitions; (b) by application of the instruments of the self-management system—special forms of communication

have been established in work organizations—meetings on all levels, reports, analyses and other materials prepared by the respective organs with a view to keeping the working people informed as well as to adopting self-managing decisions; (c) in an informal manner—through personal contact.

All forms of communication in work organizations make up a whole, they intermingle and supplement each other. Each form has its own value but forms which encourage the exchange of views, confrontation of views and arguments and contribute to the expansion of initiatives are more useful and are better suited to the fundamental idea of self-management. Investigations have shown that in a great number of work organizations the information services are not organized in a satisfactory way. The situation in this respect varies—from work organizations in which the information service is organized adequately to organizations which ignore such activity. In some instances, bureaucratic and technocratic attitudes towards communication with working people and the public have been noticed.

The development of the system of communication in work organizations is subject, in fact, to the influence of all contradictions which are manifest in the life of a work organization. There are many obstacles along the road leading to the realization of conditions for the implementation of the idea and concept of full and permanent communication with working people: from the lack of material resources to numerous subjective obstacles—confinement within narrow frameworks, certain monopolistic tendencies, disregard for the worker's ability to adopt decisions on his own, the inadequate utilization of social forces in some environments to achieve more rapid attainment of the worker's rights, etc.

The development of self-management is a process of overcoming the so-called partialized worker, isolated and separated from the conditions and results of his work. The working man is concerned with productive and general social problems. The production and social position of the worker depend essentially on his access to information and on his initiative. Therefore the worker should get thoroughly acquainted with the information communicated. Along with the elimination of other monopolies he must abolish the monopoly over information. Information activity becomes a means of the class struggle whereby the worker maintains control over the conditions of production, distribution, political decision-making and thus consolidates his own social position.

The system of communication in the commune

In the Yugoslav socio-political system the commune plays an important role. It represents the system of local territorial self-managing communities. Its particular task is to develop different forms of information activity since it is in the commune where many issues vital to the working people and citizens are decided upon. The public character of work and manner of keeping citizens informed are in fact regulated by the statute of the

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commune. Information centres or information services are in charge of publishing papers and bulletins containing information which are given to the citizens at various meetings or through other forms of social interaction. This system of information is the constituent part of the communication system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It should be noted that the system of public communication is not equally developed in every commune, owing to the uneven economic development of the communes and to the fact that there are still different practices and opinions on the need for and the manner of functioning of the system. After the adoption of the new Constitution (1974) the system of information in the commune has been increasingly developing through the establishment of self-managing communities of interest as a new form of communication, which will be explained in more detail later.

The communication system in socialist republics and provinces

The republics and autonomous provinces are the chief exponents of public communication. They exercise the primary legal function in information activity. In the process of socialist self-management and a more rapid development of local and regional media of mass communication, specific responsibilities have also been transmitted to communes and working organizations.

The republics and autonomous provinces have adopted separate laws on public communication. The inter-republican harmonization of fundamental legal categories is aimed at ensuring within the Yugoslav communication field the free circulation of information. Uniform criteria apply to the principles of the freedom of information, of public activity, of social self-management of the mass communication media, of the protection of the integrity of the individual by the mass media, of responsibility, of the right to reply and correction, etc.

The republics and provinces may resolve specific questions in conformity with their needs and possibilities. They are concerned with the material development of the press, radio stations and television centres.

The republican and provincial laws stipulate who may issue newspapers and found news and radio broadcasting organizations. Newspapers may be issued by: socio-political communities, socio-political organizations, social organizations, organizations of associated labour, citizens associated in conformity with regulations relating to the association of citizens, as well as other legal entities or persons. A radio broadcasting organization may be established by socio-political communities and socio-political organizations provided that the necessary funds and personnel for the operation of the same have been secured.

Republican laws on public communication, among others, regulate the following:

The right to reply: citizens, work organizations and socio-political organiza-

tions enjoy the right to reply if the reply adds essentially to the published information.

The right to correction: this is a vital right, since it enables citizens, socio-political communities, work organizations and legal persons to publish a correction if, as a consequence of misleading information, their person, prestige, rights or interests have been violated. The editors-in-chief of newspapers, radio broadcasting programmes and film newsreels are obliged to publish the correction, the only exceptions being if the correction is void of true facts, if it is obvious that by publishing the information no injury has been inflicted upon the honour, prestige, rights or interests of the person to whom the information relates, if the correction is not signed by an authorized person, if the correction is insulting and impolite, and if the correction has not been submitted within the legal period of time (fifteen days for newspapers or radio broadcasting programmes, and thirty days for periodicals and publications).

It is prohibited to issue printed material or to broadcast radio programmes if financial and other material resources for their publication, or broadcasting are obtained from foreign sources, irrespective of whether these sources are available in the country or abroad. This prohibition does not apply to funds obtained in the form of subscriptions or sale of printed matter, or to payment of commercial ads and other advertisements in the customary amounts. These provisions do not apply to printed matter issued by the United Nations, or to printed matter issued in conformity with agreements concluded between international organizations.

The law makes it compulsory for all printed matter to contain the name and address of the publisher and the printing house, place and year of print or reproduction.

Newspaper and other organizations engaged in the sale of newspapers are obliged to sell newspapers of all publishers within the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia under the same conditions.

Every advertisement, every advertising notice, report or interview intended for advertising purposes published in a newspaper or broadcast within a radio-diffusion programme must be visibly and clearly indicated as a paid announcement.

The space or volume of economic and commercial programme is established by the founder of a newspaper or a radio broadcasting station.

The users of radio-diffusion receivers pay lawfully prescribed charges. The money thus accruing is used for financing radio programmes broadcast within the territory of a respective republic or for ensuring the reception of radio broadcasting programmes.

Work organizations engaged in public communication are obliged to make their operations public. This is a specific commitment of radio broadcasting organizations financed through fiscal sources.

The legislative acts, as can be seen, fall mostly under the competence of the republics and provinces.

Communication at the level of the federation

A centralized system of communication would not suit the socio-political system of Yugoslavia which is founded on the federal principle. Information activities intended for other countries are co-ordinated at the federal level while official publications are founded by the bodies of the federation. The federal organs, in keeping with the principle of open and public work, publish specific papers, periodicals and other publications. The Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in its rules of procedure further elaborates the principle of public and open performance; it is obliged to do so under the Constitution, and its organs inform the public of draft decisions, laws and policy. The Assembly publishes a number of bulletins and publications relating to the work of the Federal Assembly and its bodies.

Leaderships of the socio-political organizations in the federation issue papers of which they are the founders. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia issues its organ, *Komunist*. The paper is edited jointly by the editorial board in Belgrade and eight editorial boards in the republics and provinces. Most of the republican and provincial organizations have their own issue of *Komunist*. The Federation of Trade Unions publishes its own paper, *Rad*; the Federation of Veterans Associations, *4. jul*; the Union of Youth, *Mladost*; and the Socialist Alliance, *Borba*. Among the newspapers founded by federal organs are those of the Yugoslav People's Army, *Narodna Armija*, *Front* and others. Generally speaking, the Yugoslav People's Army—which under the Constitution and in terms of its social practice is the armed force of the working class, of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and an integral part of the all-national defence—has a highly ramified information and publicity activity comprising, in turn, a component part of the Yugoslav press and publicity schemes. All these newspapers, like the newspapers published in the republics and provinces, are at the same time 'federal' and republican in character. All the newspapers, reviews and periodicals may be circulated in any part of the country and to the extent that they deal with the problems of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities they are of national, i.e. Yugoslav significance.

Yugoslavia—an open community for the exchange of information

The Constitution (Basic Principles, VII) of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia establishes the principle of the openness of Yugoslavia in international relations:

> In pressing for all-round political, economic and cultural co-operation with other nations and States, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as a socialist community of nations, holds the view that this co-operation should contribute to the creation of those democratic forms of linkage among States, nations and people, which suit the interests of nations and social progress and is in this respect an open community.

The Constitution also accentuates the principle of the broadest possible exchange of material and spiritual wealth and supports the freedom of international information exchange. Yugoslavia applies this principle in bilateral relations with all foreign countries and in its activities in the United Nations and other international forums. The idea of peaceful and active co-existence of countries irrespective of the differences in their social system, to which Yugoslavia has constantly pledged itself, constitutes the concept underlying international co-operation which rejects the ideology of force, inequality, bloc division and every form of exclusiveness and under estimation of other peoples. The philosophy of the policy of non-alignment, understandably, does not recognize any form of isolation, bloc exclusiveness or imposition of a monopoly in communication. Yugoslavia has worked actively for the establishment of the free exchange of information in the international community. It has encouraged and assisted the development of its communication system with the help of the services of the United Nations.

In pledging itself within the framework of the United Nations and at international gatherings to the freedom of information, Yugoslavia is fully aware that real obstacles exist to the free flow of information. However, it proceeds from the conviction that a great majority of countries are likewise seeking solutions to ensure the free flow of objective and comprehensive information about their respective peoples and other nations on the basis of equality and sovereignty. Neither political nor economic conditions have as yet been created for such a system of information exchange. Large information systems, namely of the big countries, are attempting to impose upon the smaller and newly liberated countries their own system of values, their ideology and their interpretation of events and political relationships. Yugoslavia at the internal and international level—through legislative power and politically—acts towards realizing the proclaimed democratic international principles regarding the freedom of information. Among the measures undertaken to this end were the following:

First, it took part in the preparation of the principles of the United Nations Charter concerning the freedom of information (it attempted to define the rights deriving from the principles of the freedom of information, it has supported democratic norms and standards in international exchange of information, assisted developing countries in the building up of their national system of communication, given facilities aimed at free circulation of information in the international community).

Second, it has actively participated in the implementation of: the Constitution of Unesco (containing among others, an obligation on the part of States to support the circulation and exchange of information); the United Nations resolution of 11 February 1974 recommending all States to undertake legal and other measures and to assist in every way possible the free flow of information; it dedicated its efforts to the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which embodies the right to freedom of thought and expression (Article 19), then the Pact on Civil and Political

Rights (1966), according to which, 'every one has the right to free expression', but also special duties and responsibilities.

Third, it assists the information work of the United Nations.

Fourth, Yugoslavia accepts and recognizes the customary international information activities conducted by governments of States and their organs, diplomatic and consular missions, and information and cultural centres of other countries in Yugoslavia, news agencies and informative services, the exchange of information between political parties and organizations, various institutions, missions, delegations, etc.

Fifth, the information system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (television, press, radio, photo service, publishers and the entire system of scientific, cultural and art media) is open to co-operation with corresponding partners from other countries and has been co-operating with them on a very broad basis.

Sixth, the import and distribution of the foreign press and other publications has been fully liberalized. Sixteen Yugoslav enterprises are engaged in the import of the press into Yugoslavia. The import of the foreign press is free and is carried out without special permission of any organ. The only exception is the import of the foreign press written and printed especially for Yugoslav citizens, for which advance permission is necessary from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs for each individual piece of printed matter or for an indefinite time if a newspaper or other occasional publication is under consideration. The printed matter of the United Nations is exempt, no advance permission being required.

Finally, in Yugoslavia, there are more than seventy permanently accredited foreign journalists; the news agency Tanjug, Yugoslav newspapers and radio and television stations have more than seventy permanently accredited journalists abroad. The principle of free access by foreign journalists in Yugoslavia to the sources of information has also been proclaimed. Co-operation with journalists from a large number of countries has been developed. The law regulates the activities of foreign information and cultural institutions and the various forms and content of their activities in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (the operation of reading rooms, libraries, publishing activities, screening and sale of films, press and photograph exhibitions, informative lectures, etc.).

The concept of dissemination of public information in Yugoslavia is evidenced in the openness and readiness to promote international co-operation in the field of information with other countries. Socialist self-management exercised in the internal policy has logically resulted in a non-aligned foreign policy, and this naturally presupposes openness to information from various countries on the basis of equality and reciprocity.

Yugoslavia's positions on the role of public information in international communication has recently found expression at the Unesco Conference during the formulation of a draft declaration on fundamental principles of the use of mass media for strengthening peace and international understanding and combating the propaganda of war, racism and apartheid. Yugoslavia

takes the view that peaceful, active co-existence of equal and independent nations and countries constitutes the only alternative to war and total annihilation. From this derives the commitment to establishing, irrespective of differences, the basic rules of behaviour in international communication. At the same time, Yugoslavia upholds the principle of responsibility as the vital principle in public communication, regardless of socio-political systems and the nature of ownership over the mass communication media. It is likewise of the opinion that the principle of the freedom of information can in no way justify the use of information media for propagating war, threatening any country or undermining its territorial, political, social and cultural integrity. All countries should have the opportunity to participate on an equal footing in international communication, which cannot be unilateral only. Yugoslavia has, in particular, dedicated itself to the development of the mass communication media in developing countries so as to enable these countries to participate on an equal footing the international exchange of information. The recognition of the principles of the freedom of information does not in any way imply the recognition of the right of those who are stronger to use the media for interference in the life of others or to exploit their technical, organizational and material superiority for any form of subjugation of others or for imposing their own values upon others.

Public communication and the policy of national equality

Under the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia all citizens enjoy equal rights before the law and have the same duties irrespective of nationality, race, sex, language, religion, education or social status. The freedom to express one's association with, and belonging to a nation or to a nationality, is fully guaranteed, as is the freedom to use one's mother tongue and alphabet. 'The social community ensures the conditions for public information in the languages of the national minorities', stipulates, for example, Article 12 of the Law on Public Information in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Similar provision is also contained in the laws on public information of all the other republics and provinces.

The uniform principles upon which the system of communication in Yugoslavia rests encourage the development of independent systems of communication in the republics and provinces for which they are responsible. This is of exceptional importance for the expression of national freedoms and equality, for the promotion of national culture, and also for the affirmation of common interests, for still better mutual acquaintance and *rapprochement* of the nations and nationalities in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a multinational federal State. The information work in the republics and provinces constitutes one of the elements of a uniform system of communicating information in the country through which is achieved a constant exchange of ideas, positions and opinions vital to the cohesion of

interests and objectives of the working class, the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia.

The role of the mass communication media in achieving the equality of nations and nationalities is enormous. However, there is still unequal distribution of these media in all the republics and provinces. Owing to unequal socio-historical development of individual regions in Yugoslavia in the past, there are still disparities in the social, personal and cultural standard of the population. It is from this that the regional differences in the ramification and the use of the mass communication media basically derive and this, in turn, acts as an objectively limiting factor to all the nations and nationalities having similar possibilities to benefit fully from the freedom of exchange of public information. At the same time, the socialist self-managing production relationships and social ownership of the public communication media act as strong incentives to rapid development of mass communications and their fuller utilization.

Measures against the abuse of the freedom of the press and other forms of information

In Yugoslavia, there is no censorship of the press or other forms of information; it can be introduced only in the case of an immediate outbreak of war or during a war.

For publishing information no application or permission is necessary. Publication and dissemination of information can be restricted only if this is specified by law.

The legislative competence of the federation in this field extends only to the prevention of the abuse of the freedom of the press and other forms of information. The law on the prevention of the abuse of the freedom of the press and other forms of information prohibits: the incitement of criminal acts against the people and State, against the armed forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or against the violation of the foundations of the self-managing socialist order of the country; publication of documents or data relating to the armed forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or about national defence which constitute a military secret; propagating or supporting aggression or other acts against humanity and international law or the objectives of the United Nations or acts which in any way threaten peace and equitable international co-operation; obstruction of the promotion of friendly relations between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and other States; insulting the honour of the nations and nationalities, degradation of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the President of the Republic; insulting the honour and prestige of foreign nations, heads of foreign States and foreign diplomatic representatives.

At the present level of the social development of international and inter-

State relations absolute freedom does not exist. Consequently, neither the freedom of the press nor of other forms of communication and information can be absolute. The Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in proclaiming the freedom of the mass communication media, proceeds at the same time from the fact that a provision must be made for its limitation as well.

Legal and normative acts regulate what constitute State, military, official and business secrets. It is clear that the basic obstacle to the realization of the principle of full public disclosure is the existence of secrecy as a legal and social norm. All countries and all social systems accept secrecy as an objective necessity. It is obvious that the institution of secrecy can also be used for calculated and intentional limitation of the freedom of public information, for various forms of manipulation in the process of communication. A society of socialist self-management also develops a new attitude to the institution of secrecy, removing the shell of various mystifications, so that it appears in its real dimension, containing exclusively that social content which reflects the interest of protecting the security of the country.

4 Social participation in the progress of the mass media

Characteristics of social impact on public communication

In Yugoslavia, the practice at present under way is a vigorous process of socialization of public communication. The interests of the communicators and the recipients do not clash, since there is a two-way interest—society influences the public communication media and they, in turn, influence society. Precisely because public communication in Yugoslavia is considered a social need, and not a commodity, the Constitution has also proclaimed the principle that information activities are of specific social interest. Social influence thus promotes a fuller development of the system of public information, and also affects the content and the character of the message. Society takes diverse material and financial measures so as to make public communiation, an activity of particular social significance, function as well as possible.

First, measures are being taken to develop and modernize mass communication media, especially by setting up television studios, radio and relay stations, modern printing facilities, etc.

Second, the founders assist their organs in various ways, and frequently give them material assistance. This assistance is given especially to the informative and political and educational press and the press dealing with cultural affairs, and related radio and television programmes.

Third, special facilities are granted and, through tax and customs policy, public organs are exempt from paying a high interest rate on their operational funds.

The purpose of all these measures is to improve the quality and to expand the range of the public communication media, as well as to reduce press, radio and television subscriptions.

In the Yugoslav legislative domain and social practice, a question was posed as to the character of social influence upon the public communication media, on the one hand, and the nature of social influence in conditions of self-management, on the other. The new status of the working man as self-manager and citizen determined the answer to this question as well. The old content, style and organization of the information media became untenable under the new conditions. The character of social tendencies and preferences changed as well. The protection of social interest does not run counter to self-management in the collective of the communicators themselves. Social influence derives from the essence of socialist self-management

and socialization of over-all public life, including public communication. Therefore, social influence upon the information media and social responsibility of those handling and operating these media constitute a component part of the freedom of public information and the right of the working man to be informed.

The protagonists of influence upon the public communication media are not narrow social groups in the Yugoslav system. Since the mass communication media constitute a component part of the social property, and do not belong to anyone in particular, they are in fact at the same time the property of all. The most immediate influence upon public organs is exercised by the system through its fundamental institutions—social property and social self-management, through councils as social organs, through the Socialist Alliance as the broadest front of the organized socialist forces and the League of Communists as the leader of the ideological-political force of society. Thus, the means of mass information became a part of society, its integral factor. Social life, as a whole including the communication media, is accessible to democratic public control.

The basic thing about this relationship is its creative aspect and humanistic contents. The social influence on the editorial policy and shaping of the content of information organs starts from this standpoint. This influence takes shape through the general policy of society in the development of the mass media, by legal and normative regulations, by the realization of the principle of the public character of work, by various benefits, the affirmation of self-management independence and the social responsibility of collectives in the mass communication media.

The socialization of information activity and the public communication media

The concept that the press is a speaker's platform originated in bourgeois democracy. However, the realization of that idea is limited by the fact that the very freedom of information under those circumstances is restricted by private ownership and capitalist social relationships, and by the influence of monopolism in the economy, in political relations and even in the mass media.

Socialist societies in the first phase of development proclaim the freedom of the press but the public communication media nevertheless retain the role of a transmission medium of party forums and State organs. Even though public communication media acquire in those conditions new, much wider possibilities for development than in a bourgeois society, they have not become a broad democratic tribunal without monopoly of party or State structures.

In a socialist self-managing democracy a new premise is created for the socialization of information activity and the mass media. Yugoslav society has, through the very definition of information as an activity of special

social significance, determined in principle its importance and role. The media of communication have been socialized, and information activity has assumed a new social role. Society and its founders exercise extensive influence upon the policy of the mass communication media. Private ownership of, and every form of monopoly over the information media are prevented. The media cannot serve the political struggle of individuals to gain power. When such occurrences take place, they are non-constitutional actions, and anti-social behaviour and usurpation. The general tendency is to make the system of public information more fully reflect the interests and satisfy the needs of the working man in a self-managing society. The assembly, elaboration, dissemination and use of information constitute a uniform process in which all concerned play a corresponding role. All those involved in the information process also bear social and political responsibility for their work and behaviour.

Legal regulation and political guidance of public communication take into account the need to enable the working people—self-managers—and public opinion to utilize the mass media as a tribunal for mutual exchange of information, free exchange of communications, constructive criticism and the clash of views. It should be mentioned, however, that there also exist factors limiting such a function of public communication in society. The first factor is evide.. in the fact that socialist self-management as a social relationship is not to the same extent subjected to its own logic and its influence upon all social processes and behaviour. There still exist vestiges of obsolete relationships and concepts resisting the new. Such resistance also exists to the shaping of a new democratic function of public communication. On the other hand, the insufficient cultural level of specific parts of the population hampers a more rapid and fuller democratization of the process of public communication and the free exchange of information.

After the adoption of the new Constitution (1974), a unique method of socialization of information activity is evolving in Yugoslav practice—the establishment of information communities of interest, which is the fundamental principle of the Constitution. This principle is based upon the premise that labour should be exchanged: workers engaged in production of material goods exchange labour through a unified process of work with those engaged in non-productive activities. The purpose of this is to facilitate a free exchange of labour and to exclude from the process of exchange those not directly associated with this exercise, for example, State organs, which by discharging this intermediary role could acquire a special, privileged position in society.

What is involved here is a process whereby the operators of specific social 'services' (in this case those engaged in information activities) are directly faced with the consumers of those 'services' (working people in a given work organization, commune, region, etc.) and reach an understanding on mutual requirements, rights and commitments. Self-managing communities of interest are organized so as to provide such confrontation and under-

standing. They are, in actual fact, a form of continuous self-managing accommodation and social understanding of the exchange of labour. This means that labour is exchanged neither through the medium of the budget nor through the intervention of the market, but through the understanding and agreement of those most directly concerned. Applied to the communication media, this simply means that the social community is concerned with and decides upon the development and financing of information activity in the commune, and the region comprising a number of communes, provinces, republics and the federation.

The working people contribute to these communities of interest out of their personal incomes and out of the incomes of their work organizations, since information activity is looked upon as having specific social significance. Communities of interest are also established for other important social activities, and not only in the area of public communication. The socialization of information activity means the exercise of control over this activity by the working people and citizens so as to have information media consistently develop as a function of associated labour. The establishment of the communities of interest extends to the organizations of associated labour and local communities which make up the core of self-management. These communities of interest comprise organizations engaged in the press, radio and television media, workers of the printing industry, radio and television services, writers and other artists active in this area and delegates of those who enjoy the benefits and services of the public communication media.

The role of socio-political organizations

In the socio-political system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, such organizations as the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, the Federation of Trade Unions and other socio-political organizations and organized socialist forces influence information media in three ways: (a) by striving for the self-managing socialist channelling of the communication media they increase their socialization and links with the working man, work towards the realization of the principle of broad publicity, influence the regulation of this matter by legal and normative acts, influence the process and flow of social information and give direct guidance to the organs they establish; (b) by making their work public, they enable mass communication media to follow it and keep the public directly informed of their activities; (c) by promoting internal communication mechanisms as an integral part of mass communication.

All socio-political organizations also develop their internal communications channels, not to obtain special rights or privileges with respect to the media but to educate their active members for assuming more responsible social activity. These organizations exercise a highly important social function in rallying and enlisting people for a conscious socialist undertaking, and in

educating them and preparing them to participate in day-to-day decision-making.

The Socialist Alliance, as the broadest front of organized socialist forces and the broadest democratic pillar of self-management, seeks to develop mass communication media as the organ of the working people. Through on-going political action, the Socialist Alliance creates conditions for mutual integration of the working people, self-managing organs and institutions of direct democracy, since the functioning of the socio-political system of Yugoslavia presupposes the constant presence of active public opinion. For the creation of such public opinion, channels of continuous and free influence of social forces on public authority and policy are necessary. In such a system, the public communication media represent a vital element of the socialist self-managing democracy.

The moulding of public opinion is never—not even in a socialist self-managing democracy—a spontaneous process. Many social factors are engaged in this process. It should be borne in mind that there exist various group and individual interests in a society. These interests wish to express themselves, and sometimes do so, through the mass communication media in an effort to impose their presence and to present themselves as being of general interest. Hence the influence of socio-political organizations on public information is such that they can through specific institutions act upon the objectivity, social responsibility, quality and substance of information. Their political and ideological influence does not obstruct the freedom of information dissemination but encourages it. These organizations influence the opening of information sources, the realization of the right of access to information, national equality in the area of information, open activity and responsibility in the exercise of the freedoms of the working people and citizens, and the promotion of social management over the public communication media. They are, in particular, called upon to give a public evaluation of the contents of the public communication media and reveal any abuse of the mass media and the existence of monopolism in the sphere of information activity and deviations in editorial policy and orientation.

The trade unions play a special role in the field of information in the organizations of associated labour. In associated labour, the Federation of Trade Unions and self-managing organs should act to a greater extent as champions of information activity in the collectives, be the founders of newspapers and other mass communication media and determine the ideological-political aspect of transmitted information.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia is the leading ideological-political force in Yugoslav society. The specific role of the League of Communists is to work towards the creation of a system of public communication in which the interests of the working class and self-managing socialist-oriented press, radio and television will predominate. Communists, especially journalists, are obliged resolutely to oppose all attempts to manipulate the press and to influence the mass communication media as self-managing organs, the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance. The

League of Communists exercises its role in the area of mass communication: by influencing the cadre policy, by providing socialist self-managing guidance in journalism and in its programme orientation, by encouraging the promotion of self-management in the work organizations concerned with public communication, by influencing the establishment of systems of communication in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia upon uniform foundations, by providing ideological-political guidance in giving objective and realistic information to other countries about the development and achievements of Yugoslavia and of its policy of non-alignment. The departure point in the development of the public communication system is man as a free and creative personality and the growing need for the exchange of ideas and information. One-sided information does not suit the *avant-garde* and democratic role of the League of Communists. In the development of the League of Communists there is strong evidence of the openness of its work and of the democratic mechanism in its internal relations as salient features of the *avant-garde* of the working class of Yugoslavia. This undoubtedly has a positive influence upon the information activity in society. The revolutionary ideology of the League of Communists serves as the departure point and a guideline for the mass media in the broadest sense of the word.

The role of founders

The founding of public organs, the definition of their role, substance and purpose of action, and editorial policy come under the competence of the social community as a whole. The constitutional conception and legislative and normative acts as well as political documents take the view that the subjects of information-founding, the organs of social self-management, are the working men in the work organizations engaged in journalism, especially journalists, who enjoy their own rights and who have their obligations and responsibilities.

Publishers of newspapers may be the work organizations, social organizations, a group of citizens acting in conformity with legally established conditions, sports organizations, religious organizations, co-operative organizations, etc.

On the establishment of a newspaper or radio-diffusion organization, the act of foundation contains the fundamental objectives and duties which the organization is expected to achieve through its action or programmes. The founder sets up a programme council within the radio-diffusion organizations, or an editorial council in the case of a newspaper, draws up the principles of personnel policy and appoints the director and the editor-in-chief through public competition.

The founder is responsible, socially and publicly, for the basic programme conception of newspapers and radio-diffusion programmes, and the council, the editorial board of newspapers, or the editorial office of a

radio-diffusion programme, the director, and the editor-in-chief for the implementation of that conception.

The role of councils in the exercise of social influence upon public communication activity

A broader influence upon information media is also exercised through the councils as separate social organs. The council is an organ in which two-thirds of its members are appointed by the founder from among the rank and file of public, social and cultural workers and workers engaged directly in the production process, while one-third are elected by the workers employed in a newspaper or radio-diffusion work organization. The council as an organ of social management elaborates and defines the programme conception and decides on the implementation of the fundamental tasks of a newspaper or radio-diffusion organization; analyses individual numbers, columns, programmes and broadcasts; initiates and proposes measures for improving the content of newspapers and radio-diffusion programmes; initiates and examines proposals for increasing the circulation; examines the economic position of the organ; deals with the personnel policy which, as a matter of principle, is laid down by the founder; transmits its views to the founder regarding the appointment of the director and the editor-in-chief; submits its opinion on the development projects of a newspaper or radio-diffusion organization; reviews proposals presented by the readers, viewers and listeners; at least once a year informs the founder in writing about its work and problems associated with the implementation of its assignment. The work of the council is open to all and it is obliged to inform the public in an adequate and appropriate manner about its conclusions and positions. The council is morally and politically responsible to the public and the founder for its work.

5 The position of the mass media

Self-management and the social status of work organizations engaged in information activity

With the introduction of worker's self-management in economic enterprises in Yugoslavia (1950) the development of self-management also began in publishing and newspaper enterprises and institutions. In terms of self-management the publishing and newspaper enterprises and institutions are economic organizations—they are independent, elect organs of self-management and adopt self-managing acts regulating the functioning of a work organization. They no longer depend upon the State budget and rely more and more upon independent sources of financing. The introduction of worker's self-management gained the newspaper, publishing and film enterprises greater independence with respect to their general status and work.

While information activity falls into the category of special concern to society, the internal life and work of information organizations are regulated by the working people employed in them. Public information is an ideological-political, public and social function. The fact that it is subject to constant social influence—of the founders, socio-political organizations and democratic public opinion—cannot be considered as a limitation of the self-managing rights of those employed in the press, radio, television and film, since they are not the sole participants in the communication process.

It is in the nature of their activity that the work organizations engaged in information activity differ from the economic work organizations. The action of a public organ is of a different social character to that of an organization concerned with material production. Because of the nature of the media and their importance to society, society shows greater awareness and interest in the work organizations concerned with the dissemination of information than in those engaged in material production. However, those employed in collectives dealing with public communication enjoy considerable autonomy guaranteed by the Constitution, laws and self-management acts adopted by those collectives. Within the range of activity of the collectives responsible for public communication are the following: the adoption of a statute regulating the internal relationships of the work organization; the adoption of rules governing the distribution of personal incomes and decision-making on the allocation of funds; taking decisions on the number of jobs; regulation of labour relations; taking decisions on by-laws regulating the

functioning of the organs of the self-management housing policy and the solution of housing problems; taking decisions on the distribution of common funds intended for education, specialization and re-qualification of workers; taking decisions on the elements of the social standard of the employed, etc. Those employed in the work organizations engaged in public communication activities decide upon the working relations in all instances except in the case of the director or the editor-in-chief, who are appointed by the founder.

The earning and distribution of income and decision-making on the results and conditions of their work constitute the basic premise of self-managing decision-making. Of particular importance is the question of earning income as one of the elements of self-management independence of the work organization, the independence and security of journalists and of all the other people working in these work organizations. A complex and controversial social relationship exists between the marketing of the press and editorial policy. In the struggle for earnings, the newsmen and newspaper collectives pay attention to the interests of the readers, viewers and listeners. This, naturally, influences the physiognomy and the style of the organ, the choice, and manner of presentation, and even the ideological-political direction. However, should the marketing and the sale of the press become an aim in itself, this would inevitably lead to the influence of blind forces, pure commercialism, sensationalism, trash and asocial tendencies in the mass media. Assistance for the mass communication media is based upon the need to promote and develop a kind of public communication which will not be subjected to commercialism.

Since society is not equally interested in promoting all means of communication and all types of press and broadcasts, different kinds of assistance are provided so as to ensure their specific development. Radio and television, for example, have permanent subscriptions which the subscribers pay regardless of whether they view or listen to the programme. On the other hand, newspapers must solicit readers and find subscribers in order to obtain their income. Priority is given to the informative, political, educational and cultural press which society assists to a greater extent than the entertainment and periodical press. This confirms in practice the postulate that information is not a commodity and that the regulation of relations in the sphere of public communication is not exclusively based on commercial and market criteria. The market is only one of the factors influencing the mass communication media. Radio and television in Yugoslavia receive about 80 per cent of their income through subscriptions, and about 20 per cent through commercial programmes. The 'product' of public information media is not the 'property' of individual collectives in the same measure as is the product of the economic organization. This is actually a new medium of labour exchange promoting the freedom of information and asserting the new social status of journalists.

Relations between the mass communication media and the public

As they foster social criticism on the principles of the socialist self-management society, the mass media are open to public, argued, principled and human criticism of their respective activity. In the social division of labour, the mass media do not enjoy the position of one who criticizes, while others are left to work, err and correct errors. Newsmen are socio-political workers who research and explain phenomena. When they fail to understand something they cannot resort to bureaucratic indulgence and didactics, simplifying complex social manifestations. In the relationship between the mass media and the public built upon this principle, partial interests will be imposed less and less as general, social interests. It is becoming more and more apparent that the information media have become more accessible to the public, that the avoidance of errors and guesswork in the media, the publication of corrections and ensuring the right of reply have become as much a matter of the implementation of legal and social obligations as of the prestige and honour of the information organs.

The independence of the system of public information founded upon its self-managing orientation has given creative impetus to written, spoken and pictorial journalism, greater source material, diversity and interest of topics. It goes without saying that such independence is needed not only by journalists and editorial boards. Its more profound social meaning is reflected in the need to express more fully and extensively by means of the system of communication, the authentic interests and aspirations of the working people, the positions of self-managing organs and socio-political organizations.

The over-all public interest in public communication in Yugoslavia is ensured through the active role of the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, the Federation of Trade Unions, and self-management bodies. They do not act by issuing commands but through ideological-political means, through open and argued public action. Many journalists are also members of the League of Communists and of other socio-political organizations. They play an important role in linking social interests with the activity of their editorial boards, their printing and editorial policy.

Relations between mass communication media

Depending upon the socio-political system, the mass communication media can be in a competitive relationship or in a relationship of complementariness, that is, co-operation. If private capital, for example, in capitalist countries, establishes individual mass communication media, these, of necessity, find themselves in a competitive struggle. This struggle is waged not only between particular categories of mass communication media but internally as well.

In Yugoslav practice, the mass communication media are not engaged in a mutually competitive struggle. As in all other areas in Yugoslavia in

the mass media private capital has been abolished, and a relationship based on State ownership has been surpassed for many years now.

In the Yugoslav socialist self-management system the determining factor is the predominant interest of the working class and the leading ideological-political influence of its *avant-garde*. The mass communication media are socially owned. In such social conditions there is no cause for competitive struggle between the communication media, instead there is the need for co-operation in daily practice. The development of these media must be made to respond to genuine social needs. In the same way, one medium cannot be developed at the expense of another, since each has a specific role to play.

Not a single function of the mass communication media (informative, educational, recreative, the function of animation, initiative and action) can be neglected or promoted at the expense of others. In countries where only one of them has developed negative effects can be seen.

In principle, in a socialist self-managing democracy economic and political conditions exist for the functioning of a system of public communication based upon uniform foundations.

In Yugoslav practice social interest calls strongly for more rapid development of the mass communication media, both in physical terms and in regional dimensions. The goal is that each working man should use the mass communication media and with the aid of these media realize his right to be informed and to participate in the free exchange of information.

6 Journalists' organizations and research work

Yugoslav journalists are associated, through the republican and provincial journalist associations and societies, in the Federation of Yugoslav Journalists. Press and printing enterprises have their business association—the Association of Newspaper Publishers of Yugoslavia, and the republican and provincial radio and television stations have established a Community of Radio-Diffusion Institutions of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia —Yugoslav Radio Television (JRT).

The Federation of Yugoslav Journalists

The Federation of Yugoslav Journalists is a social and professional organization (founded in 1945 in Belgrade) and acts as a component part of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia. The Federation of Journalists is made up of voluntarily associated organizations: the Association of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Association of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, the Society of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Association of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the Society of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Association of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, with the Society of Journalists of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Society of Journalists of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

The main tasks of the Federation of Yugoslav Journalists are: coordination of the work of journalist organizations in Yugoslavia, initiation of activities encouraging ideological-political and professional specialization of journalists, initiation and conduct of action aimed at resolving professional questions and other problems related to the advancement of journalism as a whole, and representation of Yugoslav journalist organizations abroad.

Membership of the Journalist Federation of Yugoslavia is voluntary. Every citizen of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia engaged in professional journalism for at least two years may become a member of a journalist organization. Journalist associations and societies can provide in their statute for the admission as members those who are engaged in professional training of journalists and in scientific research into mass communication media and journalism.

Journalist organizations usually comprise groups (*aktivi*) formed within the editorial boards of newspapers. These groups may be formed also on a territorial basis (in localities and regions where there are no editorial boards with a larger number of journalists). In 1972, the Federation of Yugoslav Journalists numbered 5,895 journalists: Bosnia and Herzegovina, 549; Montenegro, 132; Croatia, 1,155; Macedonia, 625; Slovenia, 675; Serbia without the provinces, 2,181; Kosovo, 180; Vojvodina, 462.

The organs of the Federation of Yugoslav Journalists are: the Assembly, the Federal Committee and the Supervisory Board, which are elected according to the delegation principle. The Assembly, the highest organ of the Federation of Journalists, comprises seventy delegates (ten from each republic and five from each province). The Federal Committee has twenty-four members who elect from among their members the Presidency of the Federation of Yugoslav Journalists. The Federal Committee elects standing and *ad hoc* committees. The standing committees are on: ideological-political questions of journalism, professional ethics, organizational-legal questions, working and living conditions of journalists, international relations and financial matters. *Ad hoc* committees are formed as required.

The statutes of the Federation of Yugoslav Journalists provide for the organization of co-ordinating committees, active groups, clubs and associations of specialist journalists within the federation. In 1975, the following were set up: the Co-ordinating Committee for the Advancement of Information in the Organizations of Associated Labour, the Group of Tourist Reporters, the Group of Skiing Reporters, the Club of Parliamentary Reporters, the Association of Sports Journalists, the Association for Agrarian-Political Journalists. The republican and provincial associations may also establish their own groups.

The Federation of Yugoslav Journalists co-operates with other countries according to the principles of peaceful co-existence and *rapprochement* of journalists and by studying and resolving problems common to journalism. The federation is not a member of the two international journalist organizations (IOJ in Prague and IFJ in Brussels); it promotes its activity primarily through bilateral channels. The Federation of Yugoslav Journalists has participated in almost all European congresses of journalists, and it has a representative as a member of the secretariat of the Standing Committee of European Journalists (Rome). In conformity with the foreign policy of Yugoslavia, the federation has established close relations with journalist organizations of the non-aligned countries.

The Federation of Yugoslav Journalists co-operates through its active groups with a number of specialized journalist organizations. The Association of Sports Journalists of Yugoslavia is a member of the International Association of Sport Press (AISP, London), and the Group of Tourist Reporters is a member of the International Federation of Tourist Journalists and Writers (FIJET, Paris). Each year international meetings of tourist journalists are held in Yugoslavia attended by journalists from more than

twenty countries. A group of women journalists are members of the International Women's Association and Family Press (Brussels).

The Association of Newspaper Publishers in Yugoslavia

The Association of Newspaper Publishers is a business association (founded in 1961 in Belgrade) through which its members discharge business of common interest. The forty-seven largest newspaper publishing organizations in Yugoslavia which issue more than 90 per cent of the circulation of Yugoslav periodicals have joined the association. These are the publishers of all dailies and the largest number of weekly newspapers and magazines.

The self-managing agreement (1975) provides that newspaper publishing organizations may also participate in the work of the Association of Newspaper Publishers of Yugoslavia through their republican and provincial business associations.

Members of the Association of Newspaper Publishers discuss and examine through their association business matters of common interest: they formulate proposals on instruments of economic policy relating to newspaper printers, initiate the adoption of social compacts and self-managing agreements on the press and participate in their adoption and implementation, discuss the marketing and sale of newspapers, price policy of daily newspapers, the purchase of paper, agency services, etc. According to the provisions of the self-managing agreement, the members of the association examine in their committees and working bodies all questions which concern their business operations. The association represents its members before State organs, socio-political communities and organizations, economic chambers and other organs and organizations.

The Association of Newspaper Publishers is run by its members through their delegates. The highest organ of management is the Assembly comprising member delegates (one delegate from each publishing organization). The executive organs of the Assembly are the Executive Board and the Secretary of the association.

The Association of Newspaper Publishers informs its members through its internal bulletin *Information for Newspaper Publishers* about all vital issues: circulation, income from advertising, paper consumption, distribution policy, innovations in production technology, organization of work in newspaper publishing organizations, etc.

Yugoslav Radio Television (JRT)

Yugoslav Radio Television is a Community of radio-diffusion institutions of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and its members are all the republican and provincial radio and television institutions. It was established (in Belgrade in 1952) with the task of examining and resolving

the following: plans for the construction of a radio-diffusion network in Yugoslavia and its integration with the network of other countries, mutual co-operation in the field of radio-diffusion and co-ordination of the participation of all its members in international radio-diffusion organizations, preparation and broadcasting of joint radio and television programmes. In addition, JRT represents its members before the competent organs of socio-political communities, work and other organizations, concludes agreements with foreign radio-diffusion organizations on programme co-operation and is concerned with other questions of common interest.

The JRT Community is managed by representative members of radio-diffusion institutions. The organs of management are the Management Board and the Secretary-General. The new statutes, which are in preparation, provide for the establishment of a JRT assembly as the highest organ of management. The JRT Community has a Programme Committee for Radio, a Programme Committee for Television and a Technical Committee. Permanent expert bodies work in the Community—committees which study and propose solutions to questions pertaining to specific expert areas (programme, technical, legal, economic, etc.). There also exists a committee for relations with radio-diffusion organizations of other countries.

The Yugoslav radio and television stations have established co-operation through JRT with more than 100 radio and television organizations on all continents. JRT is a member of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU, with headquarters in Geneva) and actively co-operates with its television organization, Eurovision. It also co-operates with the International Organization for Radio and Television (IORT, Prague) and its organization for television, Intervision. JRT has been promoting ever-closer co-operation with the radio-diffusion organizations of non-aligned countries: the African Union for Radio-Diffusion (URTNA), the Asia Broadcasting Union (ABU) and the Arab States Broadcasting Union (ASBU).

An important activity of Yugoslav radio-diffusion is the preparation of radio and television programmes for foreign countries. Regularly each week the JRT organizes a half-hour programme intended for Yugoslav emigrants living abroad. These special broadcasts are recorded in Serbo-Croat, Slovene, Macedonian and Spanish and are broadcast during emigrant radio programmes by a large number of radio stations in South America, Australia and the United States of America. Occasionally other broadcasts are also prepared for emigrants, such as those on musical, entertainment, cultural and sports life in Yugoslavia for the non-aligned countries. These broadcasts are recorded in Arabic, English, Spanish and Portuguese, and are relayed either partly or in full to more than fifty countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Special programmes recorded during the National Day of the republic and Youth Day are carried by more than 100 radio-diffusion institutions in the world. JRT regularly prepares short television broadcasts every month, transmitted to radio-diffusion institutions in sixty non-aligned countries, and its documentary films are received by seventy-eight countries in the world.

Education of journalists

The education and training of journalists in Yugoslavia is carried out at different places and through different forms, from practical experience in editorial offices, the organization of seminars and courses, journalists' schools and faculties, to consultations and exchange of experiences on problems of journalism. One of the tasks of the Federation of Yugoslav Journalists, provided for in its statutes, is also work on ideological and professional specialization of news personnel. Also the statutes of the Association of Newspaper Publishers and Yougoslav Radio Television include the training of journalists. The Yugoslav Institute for Journalism (founded in 1959, in Belgrade) has an important place in the system of education and training of journalists already engaged and working in information media. During the period 1962–75, 1,372 persons completed the institute's regular three-month school of journalism and annual correspondence school, while the courses and seminars organized by the institute in the same period were attended by 2,666 persons. The Yugoslav Institute for Journalism organizes seminars and courses for journalists of the non-aligned countries.

University faculties comprise the basic form of education and training of professional journalists to meet the needs of journalism. By 1975 studies in journalism were organized at the faculties of political and social sciences in Ljubljana, Belgrade, Zagreb, Serajevo and Novi Sad (in Hungarian), while preparations are at present under way for the organization of courses in journalism at the faculties in Skopje and Pristina. At the faculties in Belgrade and Ljubljana, post-graduate studies are also organized for mass communications, and in Zagreb plans exist for introducing post-graduate studies in journalism in 1976.

Yugoslav journalistic ethics

The Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, laws, normative acts of journalist organizations and political documents define in greater detail the role, importance and responsibility of journalists and their professional organizations. The journalist organization has special documents on norms for specific questions relating to the work of this professional organization. These are the Codex of Yugoslav Journalists and the Statutes of the Federation of Yugoslav Journalists.

Legal regulations, understandably, are not concerned with journalistic ethics. Journalist organizations are not closed, they do not fence off journalists from other social factors, nor are they conceived as trade-union organizations protecting individual and professional interests at the expense of general social interests and interests of other professions and social groups. The Codex of Yugoslav Journalists defines the role, function and status of journalists in the system of information, and moral, political and professional commitments of journalists.

A journalist is obliged to inform truthfully and exactly and comprehensively interpret events and developments. In criticism and polemics with the protagonists of opposing views and positions he is, under the Codex, obliged to respect the equality of all people and their views, to fight correctly against all asocialist manifestations in society, carry out research on social processes, occurrences and social contradictions, to dedicate himself to making mass communication media become an open, socialist, self-managing, democratic tribunal accessible to all the working people, to respect all the agreed commitments (embargo) in releasing information, to present objectively viewpoints and positions. Journalists are obliged to protect professional secrets and the dignity of the human personality.

The journalist collectives (editorial boards), being open to the public, also publish views of citizens on the substance-matter and factual and pictorial texts they write and publish. In so far as the principle of truth or objectivity has been violated, they are obliged to publish a correction with due respect for the correction and the right of reply.

These categories derive from the humanistic orientation of Yugoslav society and the course of social progress. A journalist in such relationships is not a slave to his profession. The purpose of his work is not profit but a directly expressed social interest into which is incorporated his own personal interest.

The upholding of ethics in public speech founded on a socialist basis contributes to the expansion of the freedom of public information. The ethically regulated behaviour of journalists is a confirmation of the fact that a transition is being made from the legal regulation to the broadest democratic forms of social regulation of freedom in the journalistic profession. Freedom of journalists, as stipulated by the law, in the political and ethical sense, does not imply freedom from society, its ideas and aspirations. The norms laid down by the Codex of Yugoslav Journalists demand that the creator of public information should harmonize the use of the freedoms in the communication media with the requirements of social self-management, human progress and peace.

Research work in the field of public communication

Yugoslav social practice affirms the freedom of scientific work. The Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the constitutions of the republics and provinces guarantee this principle.

Scientific research work in the field of communication has been accelerated, especially since 1960 when the achievements of socialist self-management became more deeply rooted in society, and public opinion assumed greater significance. A critical word and creative act became inseparable from the public communication media. The classical 'freedom of the press' was superseded by new achievements, the right to information became a principle of social behaviour. The increase of the role of public opinion also

influenced the importance of its research. This research thus far has been conducted along three directions: (a) most research has been done on the study of the ideological-political aspect of information impact (powerful mass communication media, the role of socio-political organizations and publicity influence from the position of the working class); (b) research on the socio-economic and legal position of the media of public communication, social self-management in these media and their institutional set-up; and (c) the cultural-sociological aspect of the system of information.

The study of communication is interdisciplinary. It is, primarily, the concern of political science, to the extent that a study of political system and public opinion is made. In the past the question of the 'freedom of the press' was a matter treated mainly by legal science, and to this day it has chiefly remained a category of constitutional and legal theory and practice. There has emerged a special discipline—the sociology of mass communication. The relations between social information and public opinion fall into the category of the system of social psychology. With the development of organizational science and the system of communication there have emerged special scientific disciplines—the theory of information, the theory of management, that is, cybernetics. Finally, the problem of public information is also being studied by journalistics.

All this is indicative of the breadth and diversity of the aspects of work on the theory of information and the exchange of information in Yugoslav society.

The following institutions are at present engaged in the study of public communication in Yugoslavia: the Centre for Research of Public Opinion and Mass Communication of the Faculty of Sociology in Ljubljana, the Institute for Social Management in Zagreb, the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade, the Institute of Social Research of the University in Zagreb, the Yugoslav Institute of Journalism in Belgrade, the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb. Radio-television stations in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Skopje and Novi Sad have services for the study of programmes and audiences.

Appendix: Statistical data on population and mass communication media in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

TABLE 1. Population of republics and provinces (1971 census)

	Total		Total
Total Yugoslavia	20,522,972	Slovenia	1,727,137
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3,746,111	Serbia (excluding provinces)	5,250,365
Montenegro	529,604	Kosovo	1,243,693
Croatia	4,426,221	Vojvodina	1,952,533
Macedonia	1,647,308		

TABLE 2. National composition of population (1971)

Nations		National minorities	
Montenegrins	508,843	Albanians	1,309,523
Croats	4,526,782	Bulgarians	58,627
Macedonians	1,194,784	Czechs	24,620
Moslems	1,729,932	Italians	21,791
Slovenes	1,678,032	Hungarians	477,374
Serbs	8,143,246	Romanians	58,570
		Ruthenians	24,640
		Slovaks	83,656
		Turks	127,920
		Others	166,641

TABLE 3. Books and booklets: number and average circulation (1950–75)

Year	Number	Average circulation (000)	Year	Number	Average circulation (000)
1950	4,371	29,768	1965	7,980	59,417
1955	5,105	22,511	1970	8,119	50,504
1960	5,355	26,332	1975	11,239	70,449

TABLE 4. Newspapers and magazines (1975)

	Newspapers		Magazines	
	Number	Total circulation	Number	Total circulation
Total Yugoslavia	1,939	765,026,000	1,229	257,169,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina	212	42,257,000	68	9,080,000
Montenegro	46	5,077,000	15	229,000
Croatia	413	196,514,000	304	47,676,000
Macedonia	102	16,556,000	60	7,029,000
Slovenia	363	82,909,000	209	26,264,000
Serbia (excluding provinces)	538	380,152,000	483	162,562,000
Kosovo	36	8,560,000	16	1,432,000
Vojvodina	229	33,002,000	74	2,894,000

TABLE 5. Radio (1945–75)

Year	Number of radio stations	Power (kW)	Programmes (hours)	Number of radio subscribers
1945	10	44	20,000	180,000
1950	16	399	65,000	336,000
1955	16	738	71,000	592,000
1960	19	1,106	98,000	1,562,000
1965	55	2,144	140,000	2,783,000
1970	149	5,586	210,000	3,372,000
1975	190	6,860	301,000	4,181,000

TABLE 6. Television (1960–75)

Year	Studio centres	Power of relay stations (kW)	Domestic programmes (hours)	Foreign programmes (hours)	Number of subscribers
1960	3	8	924	600	30,000
1965	4	1,318	3,780	259	577,000
1970	5	1,681	8,003	359	1,796,000
1975	8	10,126	12,955	700	3,076,000

TABLE 7. Radio and television (1975)

	Radio		Television	
	Number of stations	Number of subscribers	Number of studio centres	Number of subscribers
Total Yugoslavia	190	4,181,040	8	3,075,756
Bosnia and Herzegovina	34	431,215	1	355,720
Montenegro	1	85,354	1	55,656
Croatia	61	1,131,102	1	801,692
Macedonia	26	306,608	1	219,955
Slovenia	17	444,825	1	370,465
Serbia (excluding provinces)	23	1,181,796	1	823,197
Kosovo	4	85,164	1	53,930
Vojvodina	24	514,976	1	395,141

TABLE 8. Film production (1945–75)

Year	Number of film organizations	Feature films	Documentary films	Film news	Film weekly news	Other films
1945	1	—	8	—	24	—
1950	9	5	35	53	77	7
1955	14	13	87	19	62	47
1960	15	16	92	8	63	75
1965	14	25	115	28	68	52
1970	22	29	118	29	89	81
1975	25	21	127	48	59	212

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